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VI.—VOCALIC HARMONY IN FOX.¹

On a former occasion (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences 4: 403; 1914) I showed that the Fox *e* and *i* vowels as a whole are more primitive than Ojibwa *i*; I now wish to show that at times the Fox *e* vowel has developed from an *i* vowel by vocalic harmony.

Case 1.

i becomes *e* if the preceding syllable of a different morphological unit contains *e*. This does not apply to terminal *i*.

Examples: i'pa'owag^{ki} "they ran that way," ne'te'pa'w^u "I ran that way"; ä'inā^{dte}i^c "then he said to him, her," keten^{ne}c "I said to you," netenā^{wa}c "I said to him, her"; i'ci'tā'ā^{wa}c "he, she thinks," nete'citā^{ec} "I think," kete'citā^{ec} "you (sing.) think"; inā'nemin^{nu}c "think (sing.) of me," "ketenāneme-gunān^{na}c "he, she thinks of us (incl.)," netenāne'māpen^{na}c "we think of you (sing. or pl.);" i'cawi's^ac "he might do," kete'ca^{wi}c "what are you (sing.) doing?" Very likely nete'kwām^{ma}c "my sister" (said by male only) is to be explained in the same manner: i'kwā^{wa}c "woman"; for the loss of *w* before the possessive suffix *m*, see International Journal of American Linguistics, 1: 50 (1917).

It is evident that the same phonetic shift takes place in Kickapoo: see Jones, Kickapoo Tales, 18.16, 18.20, 30.10, 44.14, 106.14. Hence it is to be presumed that the shift also takes place in Sauk, though I have not actual material to prove this. It will be recalled that these three Algonquian dialects are ex-

¹ Printed with permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The Fox examples are almost entirely taken from texts dictated by Edward Davenport; some are words obtained from him by direct interrogation; references by page and line are to Jones' Fox Texts. It may be presumed that Sauk and Kickapoo also share all the shifts noted here, though there is not evidence at hand to prove this. It may be added that there are apparently some other laws of vocalic harmony in Fox, but I have not yet definitely succeeded in formulating them. None of these shifts occur when the altering vowel is within the same morphological unit as the *i* normally affected.

tremely closely related. It should be mentioned that although *e* and *i* are extremely difficult to keep apart in many American Indian languages, and often are merely auditory, not real, variants, in Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo there is not the slightest trouble in distinguishing them.

Case 2.

i becomes *e* if the following syllable of a different morphological unit contains *ä*.

Examples: *tetepi* "circle," *ähanemitetepetcäsānitci* "as he whirled over and over in his course," J. 288.15; *tcīgike* 'tcigamīwe⁶ "at the edge of the great sea" [see J. 350.5], *tcīgepyägki*⁶ "at the edge of the water"; *ämaiyagigenigi* "it had a queer shape," J. 152.8, *ämaiyagetcänātci* "the touch of her body was strange," J. 326.5; *kī'ci-* [J. *kīci-*] "completion," *inä'katawikīcetägi* "it is almost cooked," J. 372.1; *tcāgi* "all," *kätawitcägetägi* "when they (inanimate) were nearly burned up";² *pāgigumä'cinwa* "he bumped his nose," *pāgetcäcinwa* "he ran and fell flat on his belly." [The last two examples are taken from Jones' grammatical sketch of Fox.] There are evidently some rules cancelling the shift but they are at present unknown: observe *wī'cegānetamanne*⁶ "if you keep it firmly in mind" as contrasted with *wī'cigigāpāwa*⁶ "he stands firmly," but *mī'ci-gwāwa*⁶ "he has a fuzzy face," *pītigāwa*⁶ "he enters," *kī'cipyāwa*⁶ "he has come." It is clear that the same shift occurs in Kickapoo: see Jones, *Kickapoo Tales*, 114. 11, 12, 13. Hence it may be presumed that it also takes place in Sauk though I have not actual evidence to prove this. It seems that the rules cancelling the shift are alike in both Fox and Kickapoo; note Kickapoo *ä'kiskigwāwātei* "he cut off her neck," Jones, l. c., 36. 6 and *pītigānu* "come in," *ibidem* 64. 12.

Case 3.

i becomes *e* if the following syllable of a different morphological unit contains *u*. A medial *g* cancels the shift.

Examples: *wī'cigigāpāwa*⁶ "he stands firmly," *ä'wī'cigetunāmu*⁶ 'tc⁶ "he spoke strongly"; *upyā'ni*⁶ "slowly," *upyānetunāmōwa*⁶ "he speaks slowly." The contrast between *pāgigumä-*

² From Jones' Fox Texts; reference misplaced.

cinw^a "he bumped his nose" and pāgetcäcinw^a "he ran and fell flat on his belly" shows that medial *g* cancels the shift. These two examples are taken from Jones.

Case 4.

i becomes *e* if the preceding syllable of a different morphological unit contains *u*.

Examples: i'citä'āgan^{ni'} "thought," ute'citä'āgan^{ni'} "his, her thought"; i'kwä^{wa'} "woman," ute'kwäman^{ni'} "his sister." [For the last two see case 1.]

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